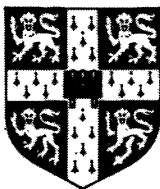


H. M. CHADWICK MEMORIAL LECTURES . 3

PÁDRAIG Ó RIAIN

Anglo-Saxon Ireland:
the evidence of the Martyrology of Tallaght



DEPARTMENT OF ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE, AND CELTIC
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Hector Munro Chadwick (1870-1947) was Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge from 1912 to 1941. Through the immense range of his scholarly publications, and through the vigorous enthusiasm which he brought to all aspects of Anglo-Saxon studies — philological and literary, historical and archaeological — he helped to define the field and to give it the interdisciplinary orientation which characterises it still. The Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, which owes its existence and its own interdisciplinary outlook to H.M. Chadwick, has wished to commemorate his enduring contribution to Anglo-Saxon studies by establishing an annual series of lectures in his name.

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Anglo-Saxon Ireland: the evidence of the Martyrology of Tallaght

PÁDRAIG Ó RIAIN

Returning from Rome in 679 or early in 680, Benedict Biscop, founder and abbot of Wearmouth, and Ceolfriith, future first abbot of Jarrow and Bede's spiritual father, brought with them to Northumbria John the Arch-Chanter, precentor of St Peter's church and abbot of the monastery of St Martin.¹ Before leaving Rome, John appears to have received instructions from the Pope which, according to Bede, he carried out by 'teaching the cantors of the monastery [of Wearmouth] the order and manner of singing and reading aloud' and, much more importantly from the point of view of this lecture, by 'committing to writing all things necessary for the celebration of festal days throughout the whole year'.²

It was then, to paraphrase Charles W. Jones, that 'computus, the science of the calendar' appears first to have reached Northumbria in a form which led to the production of a martyrology.³ Not only were John's writings on the festal days still preserved at Wearmouth-Jarrow in Bede's time, copies had then already been made of them 'by many others elsewhere'.⁴ In preparing his own list 'of the birthdays of the martyrs', Bede doubtless consulted them.⁵

The exact form which these writings may have taken is nowhere stated. Arguably, however, among the materials brought by John the Arch-Chanter to Northumbria was a copy of the Hieronymian Martyrology.⁶ Originally compiled in northern

¹Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* IV. 18.

²*Ibid.*

³Charles W. Jones, *Saints' Lives and Chronicles in early England* (Ithaca, NY, 1947), pp. 6-15.

⁴Bede, *Historia* IV. 18.

⁵*Ibid.*, V. 24. Cf. C.W. Jones, 'Bede's Place in Medieval Schools', in *Famulus Christi*, ed. Gerald Bonner (London, 1976), pp. 261-85 (at 266 and 280n.).

⁶For a brief account of the history of the Hieronymian Martyrology, see Jacques Dubois, *Les Martyrologes du moyen âge latin* (Turnhout, 1978), pp. 29-37; the standard edition of the martyrology is by Hippolyte Delehaye, *Commentarius perpetuus in Martyrologium Hieronymianum ad recensionem Henrici Quentin*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, Novembris, II, pars posterior (Brussels, 1931).

Italy in the sixth century, this text was one of the sources used by Bede.⁷ Furthermore (as Henri Quentin showed), while not identical with it, Bede's source was closely related to the full version of the Hieronymian Martyrology compiled in the early eighth century and kept in the monastery of St Willibrord at Echternach.⁸ The provenance of this martyrology and the calendar bound with it in one volume has recently become the subject of renewed discussion.⁹ Whatever about the provenance of the manuscripts themselves, however, their texts have a definite Northumbrian character.¹⁰ Not surprisingly, therefore, the Echternach Martyrology was included by Wilhelm Levison in his group of originally 'Italian texts' taken to Germany and France by way of England.¹¹

Uniting in the character of its text Italy and Northumbria, the Hieronymian Martyrology known to Willibrord may not after all derive from a text brought to England by the Neapolitan Abbot Hadrian in 668, as has previously been thought.¹² It could just as well represent part of the still extant legacy of the Roman prelate, John the Arch-Chanter. The main purpose of this lecture is to

⁷Henri Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1908), pp. 109-12.

⁸*Ibid.*, 109. In the light of the conclusion drawn below, it is interesting that the entry on St Dula in Bede's martyrology at March 25, cited by Quentin as evidence of 'rapprochement' with the Echternach Martyrology, in fact reveals a much closer correspondence with the Martyrology of Tallaght. The latter reads *Passio dulae uirginis. Ancillae militis* against Bede's *Natale Dulae ancillae militis*. While sharing *ancillae* with the other two sources, the corresponding Echternach text lacks *militis*. Similarly, at April 8, an entry also used by Quentin, the Tallaght and *Cambrense* Martyrologies, both of which are breviate versions of the Hieronymian, agree with Bede against the Echternach martyrology in adding the words *quae in unum meruerunt coronari*. Citing evidence from 'early English calendars', Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), p. 253n., likewise came out in favour of the view, previously expressed by Hippolyte Delehaye, that 'there must have existed in England up to a comparatively late date a copy or copies of the Hieronymian Martyrology in its final redaction superior to the Epternach [read Echternach] copy'. See also below, n. 105.

⁹D. Ó Cróinín, 'Pride and Prejudice', *Peritia* 1 (1982), 352-62; *idem*, 'Rath Melsigi, Willibrord, and the Earliest Echternach Manuscripts', *Peritia* 3 (1984) 17-49; N. Netzer, 'Willibrord's Scriptorium at Echternach and its Relationship to Ireland and Lindisfarne', in *St. Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to AD 1200*, ed. Gerald Bonner *et al.* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 203-12.

¹⁰Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', p. 30, has used 'the internal evidence of the text itself' as an indication of the calendar's 'Irish background'. The fact that names in the calendar can best be explained by reference to Ireland, as Ó Cróinín has very properly emphasized, must not obscure, however, the further fact that the persons concerned are almost invariably of Northumbrian origin.

¹¹Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 141-2. Levison's point remains valid even if the route to the Continent taken by the text, as distinct from the manuscript, possibly included Ireland. See above, n. 10.

¹²*The Calendar of St. Willibrord*, ed. H.A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society 55 (London, 1918), p. x.

explore the possibility that the earliest extant Irish martyrology may also have formed, somewhat unexpectedly, another part of this legacy, be it Hadrian's or John's.

By comparison with Northumbria, where the first local martyrology is held to have been compiled by Bede, probably in the 720s, and certainly before 731, the Irish martyrological tradition seems late.¹³ Now known as the Martyrology of Tallaght (after the church of that name near Dublin), what is usually regarded as the first Irish compilation of this kind dates from the period 826 x 833.¹⁴ Unique in its inclusion, at least in its original form, of what Paul Grosjean termed a *supplément national*,¹⁵ that is to say substantial additions of mostly native saints for each day of the year, the basic Tallaght text represents a breviated edition of the Hieronymian Martyrology.¹⁶ Where this particular breviated edition came from is a question which has scarcely yet been addressed. The main conclusion of the editors of the text was that 'the Tallaght scribe used the Epternach [read Echternach] manuscript, though perhaps at second hand'.¹⁷ Since then, Paul Grosjean twice put forward a different point of view. Discussing some additions to the Sens copy of the Hieronymian Martyrology, he concluded that the Tallaght breviated text derived from a 'copiously annotated' exemplar, compiled earlier than the Echternach copy.¹⁸ And later, in his

¹³Bede, *Historia* V. 24. Bede concluded his ecclesiastical history of the English people in 731 with a list of his previous works including his 'martyrology of the birthdays of the martyrs'.

¹⁴The standard edition is *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Richard Irvine Best and Hugh Jackson Lawlor, Henry Bradshaw Society 68 (London, 1931). The Hieronymian sections of the martyrology, which are lacking for the following days, 30.1-11.3, 21.5-1.8, 2.9-4.9, 1.11-16.12, were added by Delehaye and Quentin to their edition of the Hieronymian Martyrology (see above, n. 6) under *excerpta ex variis*. For the date of the Tallaght text, see now P. O Riain, 'The Tallaght Martyrologies, Redated', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 20 (1990), 21-38.

¹⁵P. Grosjean, 'Notes d'hagiographie celtique: 2', *Analecta Bollandiana* 61 (1943), 95-9, at 97; *idem*, 'Notes d'hagiographie celtique: 26', *Analecta Bollandiana* 72 (1954), 357-62, at 362.

¹⁶For a list of the *breviaria* or breviated versions of the Hieronymian text, see Delehaye and Quentin, *Commentarius perpetuus*, p. xii; cf. Dubois, *Les martyrologes du moyen âge latin*, pp. 60-1.

¹⁷*The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. xxiii. Explaining the often corrupt forms of the text, the editors also commented: 'we must take into account the transit from E[chternach] to T[allaght] in its original manuscript, and from it to LL [the manuscript now containing Tallaght]'.

¹⁸P. Grosjean, 'Une source insulaire d'additions à un manuscrit du Martyrologe Hieronymien', *Analecta Bollandiana* 65 (1947), 139-56 at 147n. John Hennig, 'Studies in the Latin Texts of the Martyrology of Tallaght, of *Félire Oengusso* and of *Félire Húi Gormain*', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 69 C (1970), 45-112 (at p. 82), indicated his approval of Grosjean's view.

discussion of the origins of the feast of St Joseph in the West, Grosjean put forward the view that the Irish martyrology derived directly from a Continental original.¹⁹ By reference, however, to a number of entries on Anglo-Saxon saints, added partly to the Hieronymian and partly to the Irish sections of the martyrology, we can not only question the accuracy of Grosjean's view; we can also form a very much clearer picture of the likely prehistory of the text.

Among the sainted Anglo-Saxon dead commemorated at Tallaght, one is made the subject of a very curious addition to the Hieronymian text for April 5. The addition is as follows.²⁰

Fatuelis Saxonis cuius caput decollatum

locutum est in scetha et dixit Libera nos a malo.

Already unusual in its narrative character, which belongs more properly in a so-called historical martyrology,²¹ this entry is otherwise unique on two counts. First, it is the only entry in the Hieronymian sections to contain the word *saxo*.²² Secondly, it is nowhere else recorded. While we should give much to know its circumstances, therefore, what prompted the severed Anglo-Saxon head to utter the concluding words of the Lord's Prayer will no doubt forever remain a mystery. In the period since the text was first edited in 1931, however, at least the location of the talking head has become less of a mystery. Thought by Best and Lawlor, the editors of the text, to refer to the remote eastern European land of Scythia, *a priori* a most unlikely place of repose for an Anglo-Saxon head, *scetha* has since been explained by John Hennig as an otherwise attested variant of the Classical form *theca*.²³ The sense of 'coffin', which is sometimes attached to this word, was rightly considered by

¹⁹Grosjean, 'Notes d'hagiographie celtique: 26. La prétendue origine irlandaise du culte de S. Joseph en Occident', *Analecta Bollandiana* 72 (1954), 357-63, at 360-2. Summing up the position (p. 362), Grosjean described the Tallaght text as 'un martyrologe abrégé, d'origine continentale, avec des suppléments pour l'Irlande'.

²⁰*The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. 30.

²¹Standing at the head of a long line of historical martyrologies is that compiled by Bede: Quentin, *Les Martyrologues historiques*.

²²All other examples of the word cited below are taken from additions made either in the principally Irish sections or, as in one case, in between the two sections. In the main Hieronymian tradition, represented by such *codices pleniores* as the Martyrology of Echternach, not a single example occurs of the word *saxo*.

²³*The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, pp. 145 and 192. Delehaye and Quentin, *Commentarius perpetuus*, p. 175, presumably of the same opinion, likewise gave a capital *s* to *scetha*. In support of his interpretation, Hennig, 'Studies in the Latin Texts', pp. 52-3, cited R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-list*, p. 481, which, under *theca*, 'money-box', 'coffin', 'tomb', includes a tenth-century example spelt *scetha*.

Hennig to be more appropriate to the Tallaght entry. Alternatively, Richard Sharpe may be more correct in assuming this to be another example of *scetha* in the otherwise well established Insular meaning of ‘satchel’.²⁴

Be this as it may, Hennig could justly claim to have solved ‘at least half of the mystery’.²⁵ Still to be established, however, is the identify of the subject of the entry, Fatuelis, who despite his alleged nationality, bears a most un-English-looking name.²⁶ Could it be that the Tallaght cleric had misread his exemplar, wrongly expanding another form of name? Or could his exemplar have contained a term other than a name, such as *fratruelis*, a word used, for example, in the *Historia Brittonum* to indicate the relationship between Ecgfrith of Northumbria and the Pictish king, Bruide son of Bile?²⁷ In that case, however, one would also have to assume that a genuine name (or two?) had been omitted from the text.

Whatever may be the correct explanation of *Fatuelis*, and the late twelfth-century author of the Martyrology of Gorman solved the problem to his own satisfaction by taking it as a name (in the updated form, *Fatuel*),²⁸ it will scarcely help to resolve what must be the biggest problem posed by the addition at April 5: how to explain the unique survival of this English entry in a text of Irish provenance composed at the earliest about 826? Clearly conscious of this problem, John Hennig, the author of the only previous study of the non-Irish additions to the martyrology, addressed it by claiming that there must have been

²⁴R. Sharpe, ‘Latin and Irish Words for “Book-satchel”’, *Peritia* 4 (1985), 152-6. The example from the Martyrology of Tallaght is not included in Sharpe’s article; however, in a private communication, he expressed the view that this was another example of the word in the sense of ‘satchel’.

²⁵Hennig, ‘Studies in the Latin Texts’, p. 52.

²⁶I wish to thank Dr Elizabeth Okasha of the Department of English, University College, Cork, for examining the word at my request. She concluded that *Fatuelis* ‘is unlikely to be a name of Old English origin’.

²⁷The entry from *Historia Brittonum* (*Chronica Minora Saec. IV.V.VI.VII*), ed. Theodor Mommsen, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1891-8), p. 202, §57) was discussed by Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896) II, 261. The dominant Classical and medieval meaning of *fratruelis* appears to have been *fratris filius*. I am grateful to Dr Anthony Harvey for having provided me with examples of *fratruelis* from the collections of the ‘Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources’ now in progress in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

²⁸*Féilire Húi Gormáin. The Martyrology of Gorman*, ed. and transl. Whitley Stokes, Henry Bradshaw Society 9 (London, 1895), 70. The author of this martyrology made extensive use of the Martyrology of Tallaght.

an awareness at Tallaght of ‘North-Western Europe as a distinctive ecclesiological unit’.²⁹ This rather clumsily defined unit, which is further described as the area ‘traditionally referred to by the misleading title of the “Celtic Church”’, was held by Hennig to have been viewed from Tallaght as ‘predominantly under Irish influence’.³⁰ Very much in accord with his otherwise stated view, which I hold to be quite inappropriate, that the Martyrology of Tallaght represents ‘the earliest sign of nationalism in hagiography’, Hennig’s conclusion in any case throws no light on the manner in which the addition at April 5 and other related entries actually reached Tallaght.³¹ Ignored by Hennig, who seems to have failed to recognize it, the concluding entry in the Hieronymian section for October 4 may suggest a different solution³²

The substitution, possibly at Tallaght, of *-(a)ch* for *-d* in the spelling of their name no doubt explains why the two Anglo-Saxon martyrs named Hewald have lurked unnoticed for so long in the Irish martyrology.³³ Martyred by their ancestral kith and kin, the Old Saxons, in 695, these saints, who, according to Bede, were distinguished by ‘the different colour of their hair’, had spent many years in exile in Ireland before joining their compatriot Willibrord on the Continent.³⁴

Could it have been because of their Irish connexions that the two Hewalds were added to the Tallaght list for October 4? The maintenance of contact between Willibrord’s mission in Frisia and Englishmen studying at monasteries in Ireland (such as that ‘which the Irish call *Rathmelsigi*’) is not only *a priori* very likely; as Dáibhí Ó Cróinín has recently pointed out, it is also very

²⁹J. Hennig, ‘Britain’s Place in the Early Irish Martyrologies’, *Medium Aevum* 26 (1957), 17-24 (at p. 23).

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 23 and 24.

³¹J. Hennig, ‘Studies in the Tradition of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* in Ireland’, *Studia Patristica* 1 (1957), 104-11 (at p. 106). The ‘national’ additions to the Hieronymian sections contained in the Tallaght texts are admittedly much more substantial than the regional or local additions made in other manuscripts of the martyrology; they do not, however, differ from these in any other essential respect.

³²*The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. 77: *Heuualach (bis)*. The editors failed to recognize the true nature of the entry (p. 202). Similarly, both in ‘Britain’s Place’ and in ‘Studies in the Latin Texts’, Hennig failed to advert to the entry.

³³For another similar confusion of *-ch* and *-d* in an Anglo-Saxon name in the Tallaght text, see below, n. 52. William O’Sullivan has pointed out to me that *-ch* and *-d* are ‘very easily confused in Half-uncial script’.

³⁴Bede, *Historia* V. 10.

much implied by the fact that ‘the earliest recruits’ for the mission, such as the Hewalds, came from Ireland.³⁵ On the face of it, therefore, one could argue that contact of this kind is further presupposed by another fact, that otherwise only Willibrord’s private calendar places the feast of the Hewalds at October 4.³⁶ All other sources follow Bede, who was very probably mistaken in this instance, by placing the Hewalds’ martyrdom on the previous day.³⁷

A similarly noteworthy coincidence of date between the Martyrology of Tallaght and Willibrord’s private calendar, again in contradiction of Bede, occurs in the list for August 19. Here, in penultimate position in the Tallaght text, notice is given of the *passio* or martyrdom of King Oswine of Deira.³⁸ Martyred in 651, Oswine is in fact otherwise omitted from all early martyrological sources of Northumbrian provenance, except Willibrord’s calendar.³⁹ Writing of Oswine in his *Historia*, however, Bede placed the king’s martyrdom on August 20.⁴⁰

Before considering what all this agreement between Tallaght and Echternach may mean, a final case should be noted. This time in common with every other source, including Bede, the Irish text — together with both Willibrord’s calendar and his martyrology — includes King Oswald’s feast at August 5.⁴¹ Now leading off a section artificially separated from the main text, Oswald — a relic of whom, according to Bede, had been brought to Ireland by Willibrord⁴² — no doubt originally also represented an addition to the Hieronymian section of the

³⁵D. Ó Cróinín, ‘Is the Augsburg Gospel Codex a Northumbrian Manuscript?’, in *St. Cuthbert*, ed. Bonner *et al.*, pp. 189-201, at 193-4; *idem*, ‘Rath Melsigi’, pp. 32 and 36.

³⁶*The Calendar of St. Willibrord*, ed. Wilson, p. 12: *natale sanctorum martyrum heualdi (et heualdi, other hand)*.

³⁷Bede, *Historia* V. 10. In *The Calendar of St. Willibrord*, ed. Wilson, p. 41, it was assumed that the entry in the calendar had been ‘accidentally placed’ a day too late.

³⁸*The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. 64: *Passio Osuini regis*.

³⁹*The Calendar of St. Willibrord*, ed. Wilson, p. 10: *osujni regis*.

⁴⁰Bede, *Historia* III. 14. In *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and transl. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 256, it was suggested that ‘Oswine was canonized after his death, probably as a result of Bede’s encomiums’. In fact, however, the evidence shared by the Tallaght martyrology with Willibrord’s calendar points to the ‘canonization’ having taken place before Bede’s time.

⁴¹*The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. 60, *Osuwaldi regis et aliorum .ii.*; *The Calendar of Willibrord*, ed. Wilson, p. 10, *Osuwaldi regis*. Delehaye and Quentin, *Commentarius perpetuus*, p. 418; *ñt oswaldi regis*. Cf. Bede, *Historia* III. 9.

⁴²Bede, *Historia* III. 13.

Tallaght martyrology.⁴³

In view of the very close agreement between Willibrord's calendar and three of the four surviving Anglo-Saxon additions to the Hieronymian text of the Martyrology of Tallaght, it must be allowed that there is a strong *prima facie* case for direct contact between the Continental and Irish martyrological records. However, a note of caution must also be struck. While the two Hewalds, who had lived in Ireland, and Oswald, who had spent many years in exile on Iona, were obvious candidates for inclusion in an Irish martyrology, Oswine most certainly was not.⁴⁴ Indeed, as far as one can judge, the king of Deira's Irish connexions were limited to his contact with the community of Lindisfarne. In his account of Oswine's death, Bede illustrates this point graphically. Describing how Bishop Aidán foretold the tragic event, Bede claims that he spoke 'in his native tongue, which the king and his thegns did not understand'.⁴⁵

Clearly, to an Irish martyrologist, Oswine's appeal would have been considerably less than that, for instance, of Oswald who, if we may trust the *pulcherrimum spectaculum* elsewhere depicted by Bede, acted as 'interpreter of the heavenly word' on behalf of Bishop Aidán, when the latter was not yet 'completely at home in the English tongue'.⁴⁶

The possibility, then, that these three Anglo-Saxon names were admitted to the martyrology either at Tallaght itself, or in some other Irish scriptorium, is weakened by the inclusion of Oswine. On the other hand, it could still be argued, in line with Grosjean, that the exemplar used at Tallaght had come to Ireland from the Continent with these four entries already added to it.⁴⁷ In the light of recent research on early eighth-century

⁴³As the editors noted, there is 'some confusion' in the Tallaght list for August 5. The words *et aliorum* plus numeral, attached to Oswald's name, often serve as the concluding formula of a list of entries.

⁴⁴For Oswald's exile on Iona, see Bede, *Historia* III.3

⁴⁵Bede, *Historia* III. 14. Oswine's death is found recorded by a Gaelic annalist, however: *Iuglathio Oisseni m. Oisirgg* (Annals of Ulster, s.a. 651, item 2). Cf. below, n. 60.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, III. 3.

⁴⁷See above, n. 19.

Echternach manuscripts, traffic of this kind between the Continent and one or other of the Irish churches with Anglo-Saxon communities must seem very likely.⁴⁸ Before we come to a decision on the matter under discussion, therefore, other clues to the formation of the Hieronymian text used at Tallaght must be examined. Such clues in fact survive not only in the Hieronymian text itself but in the predominantly Irish sections added to it, which again somewhat unexpectedly, include several Anglo-Saxon saints.

Distinguishing each of the seven relevant entries, which in fact add up to eight names, is the use of the word *saxo*. In at least two cases — those of Finán, the Irish bishop of Lindisfarne, at January 9,⁴⁹ and Cellach, who, by way of conjecture, may be held to represent the former bishop of the Middle Angles, at October 7 — the use of *saxo* is clearly inappropriate, unless it be intended in a purely geographical sense.⁵⁰ In all other entries, however, the use of the term is very much *a-propos*.

Besides the Irishman, Finán, two other bishops of Lindisfarne are included, Cuthbert at March 20 and Eadberht at May 5.⁵¹ The later of the two, Eadberht, the form of whose name in this text — *Euchbrit* — illustrates scribal confusion of *d*

⁴⁸ Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi'; *idem*, 'Is the Augsburg Gospel Codex a Northumbrian Manuscript?', in *idem*, 'Early Echternach Manuscript Fragments with Old Irish Glosses', *Willibrord*, ed. Georges Kiesel and Jean Schroeder (Echternach, 1990), pp. 135-43 and 319-22. See also in that volume N. Netzer, 'The Early Scriptorium of Echternach: the State of the Question', pp. 127-34.

⁴⁹ *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. 6: *Finani saxonis*. Now in third place, the entry is first of the latinized names in the list. As pointed out by John Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Louvain, 1645; reprinted Dublin, 1948), 45, Finán's feast was celebrated 'apud Hibernos nono Ianuarij, apud Anglos vero 17 Februarij'. Coincidentally, the latter date is the feast of Fintan of Clononagh *apud Hibernos*, which may have a bearing on the confusion.

⁵⁰ *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. 77: *Cellaigi diaconi* (.i. *saxonis* above line) *i nGlind da Locha*. The entry is in second place, I suspect that not only the gloss '*i. saxonis*' but also the name of the church is secondary.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 25, *Cutbricti saxonis .i. Insi Menóc*; 39, *Euchbrit saxonis*. (Without emendation, the latter name would stand for Old English Ecgfrith.) Now in second place, the entry at March 20 is the only Latin one in the list. The entry at May 5 is in first place. As argued by Paul Grosjean, 'The Alleged Irish Origin of St. Cuthbert', in *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. C.F. Battiscombe (Oxford, 1956), pp. 144-54 (at 149-50), the place attached to Cuthbert's name may rather belong to another saint named in the list.

with *ch*, died in 698.⁵² Also mentioned are two hermit-monks associated with Lindisfarne, Oethilwald of Farne who died on April 21, 699, and Herbert of Derwentwater who is supposed to have shared Cuthbert's day of death, March 20, 687.⁵³ Finally, added in at April 24 are the names of two former members of the community at Lindisfarne, Ecgerht, who died on Iona, and Wilfrid, who became abbot of Ripon, bishop of York, and celebrated champion of the Roman interest in Northumbria.⁵⁴ Not only do these latter entries stand alone, in latinized form, between the Hieronymian and Irish sections, evidence which may have something to say about the formation of the martyrology, they are also chronologically the latest of the seven additions, Wilfrid dying in 709 and Ecgerht in 729.⁵⁵ (It may be noted in passing that April 24 appears to represent the day of Wilfrid's death and not, as is generally assumed, the day of his translation.⁵⁶)

On the evidence then of its added *Saxones*, the exemplar used at Tallaght must either have passed through Lindisfarne itself or through a church closely affiliated to it. If an affiliated house is posited, then *a priori* any one of the so-called 'English

⁵²For another example of confusion of *d* and *ch* in an Anglo-Saxon name, see above, n. 33. That this confusion probably occurred at Tallaght itself is indicated by the fact that the Martyrology of Gorman, whose author used as source a copy of the Tallaght text other than the surviving manuscript, likewise contains at May 5 a form with *-ch-* for *-d-*, namely *Euchbrict*.

⁵³*The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. 35, *Edilaldi saxonis*; p. 24, *Erihbirt saxonis*. Both entries now occupy second place. Oethilwald's name is, however, the only latinized name in the list. Sometimes given as March 23, Oethilwald's feast is also at April 21 in both Willibrord's calendar and his martyrology. Herbert's feast is entered not at March 20, where, according to Bede, *Historia* IV. 29, it should be, but at March 18. Grosjean, 'The Alleged Irish Origin of St. Cuthbert', p. 152, did not 'know any other ancient martyrology which commemorates St. Herbert on 18 March'. In fact, however, using another manuscript of the Tallaght text as source, the author of the Martyrology of Gorman also included *Erbericht* at March 18. Colgan, *Acta*, p. 652, mistakenly took the entry to refer to *Eadberctus*, a mid-eighth-century king of Northumbria, Eadberht Eating, who, according to the *Continuatio* to Bede's *Historia* (s.a. 758), relinquished the throne *Dei amoris causa*.

⁵⁴*The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, 36, *Ecbrihti saxonis. Uldbrithi*.

⁵⁵My suspicion that the earliest 'Irish' additions to the Hieronymian text were either in Latin or in a latinized form will be examined elsewhere in the course of a fuller discussion of the various strata of the text.

⁵⁶David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1978), p. 403. In *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. and transl. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), p. 186, it is stated, however, that 'the date of his death cannot really be settled on the evidence we have at present'. As it stands, the two earliest witnesses, the mid-eighth-century metrical Martyrology of York ('Un témoin anglo-Saxon du calendrier métrique d'York', ed. A. Wilmart, *Revue Bénédictine* 50 (1934), 41-69, at 66) and the Martyrology of Tallaght give preference to April 24.

foundations' in Ireland shown by Kathleen Hughes to have maintained contacts with Northumbria after the Synod of Whitby would qualify for consideration.⁵⁷ What Julian Brown has said of palaeographers, however, applies with equal force to historians. The 'recognized halt on the road between Northumbria and Ireland has always been Iona'.⁵⁸ No Irish church being more closely affiliated to Lindisfarne, Iona must be here as elsewhere the obvious first choice. And in that case, the Anglo-Saxon additions would indeed reflect very neatly Iona's view of Northumbria.

Already signalled then by the attention paid to Lindisfarne in Anglo-Saxon additions to the text, Iona's place in the formation of the earliest Irish martyrology appears to be assured by at least two other pieces of evidence.⁵⁹ The first of these is the space found among the Irish additions at May 27, exactly a week removed from the usual day of May 20, for a most unexpected candidate for commemoration, at least in an Irish source, Ecgfrith, son of Oswiu and king of Northumbria, who died in 685.⁶⁰ Ecgfrith is the subject of mixed coverage in the historical sources. Reviled by Bede for having sent an army to Ireland in 684 where it 'wretchedly devastated a harmless race that had always been most friendly to the English',⁶¹ the king won high praise from Wilfrid's biographer, Stephen, as a *rex christianissimus et piissimus*.⁶² Moreover, in a hand other than the *prima manus* his name has been added to Willibrord's Calendar at May 20.⁶³ Nowhere else, however, in an English

⁵⁷K. Hughes, 'Evidence for Contacts between the Churches of the Irish and the English from the Synod of Whitby to the Viking Age', in *England before the Conquest*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 49-67.

⁵⁸T.J. Brown, 'Northumbria and the Book of Kells', *Anglo-Saxon England* 1 (1972), 219-46, at 236.

⁵⁹Compare also the conclusion reached by Hermann Moisl, 'The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish in the Seventh Century', *Peritia* 2 (1983), 103-26, at 108: Iona 'would have had good reason to maintain an annalistic record of ... battles and deaths of Northumbrian kings, the foundation of Lindisfarne, the deaths of prominent churchmen and so on'.

⁶⁰*The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. 46, *Echbrian mac Ossu*. For the date of Ecgfrith's death, see Bede, *Historia* IV. 26; *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, ed. and transl. Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983) I, 148. This source also hibernicizes the king's name, albeit without the diminutive ending of endearment, as *Etfriht m. Ossu*.

⁶¹Bede, *Historia* IV. 26.

⁶²*The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. Colgrave, p. 36 (=§xvii); Stephen refers to *regibus christianissimis et piissimis Ecgfritho et Aelwino*.

⁶³*The Calendar of St. Willibrord*, ed. Wilson, p. 7, *Ecgfridi regis*.

source did Ecgrith qualify for inclusion in a commemorative list of this kind. Why then is his name entered in the Martyrology of Tallaght at May 27, in a diminutive form suggestive of endearment? The discrepancy in the choice of day suggests that direct contact with Echternach could hardly have been the cause. If we can rely, however, on the early twelfth century Simeon of Durham,⁶⁴ another explanation becomes possible: following Ecgrith's defeat and death at the battle of Dunnichen or Nechtanesmere in 685, his remains had been taken for burial on Iona, and this might have led eventually to his name being added to the monastery's martyrology. Whatever may finally explain Ecgrith's inclusion in the martyrology, it is rendered all the more strange by the complete absence of any reference to his half-brother, Aldfrith, who, as David Dumville has most recently reminded us, became the focus of literary allusion (or, perhaps, illusion) in the Irish record.⁶⁵

A much clearer indication of Iona's early involvement in the formation of the Irish martyrology is provided by the list of entries concerning its abbots. In all, twelve abbots are named, constituting, subject to two omissions, an otherwise unbroken record of the succession from Columba up to and including Cilline.⁶⁶ Which of

⁶⁴P. Hunter Blair, 'Symeon's History of the Kings', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th ser. 16 (1939), 87-100, at 87, described Symeon's collection as 'a mass of unedited material, most of it useless, some of it immensely valuable'. The 'useless' material is that culled from other writers. The reference to Ecgrith's burial on Iona, *cujus corpus in Hii, insula Columbae, sepultum est (Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. Thomas Arnold (London, 1882) I, 32) has not been traced to any other source.

⁶⁵D.N. Dumville, 'Two Troublesome Abbots', *Celtica* 21 (1990), 146-52, at 151-2. As Dumville has pointed out, 'the literary history of Flann Fina [allegedly another name for Aldfrith] in Ireland and the biography of Aldfrith, king of Northumbria' require further investigation before the two can be brought 'into conjunction'. For Aldfrith's connexions with Iona, see Moisl, 'The Bernician Royal Dynasty', pp. 120-4. For the day assigned by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to Aldfrith's death, see *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. Charles Plummer (Oxford, 1896) II, 305-6.

⁶⁶In order of succession the abbots are Columba (d. 597, June 9), Baithine (d. 600, June 9), Laisrén (d. 605, September 16), Fergna (d. 623, March 2), Ségine (d. 652, August 12), Suibne (d. 657, January 11), Cuimine Find (d. 669, February 24), Fáilbe (d. 679), March 22), Adomnán (d. 704, September 23), Dúnochad (d. 717, May 25), Dorbéne (d. 713, October 28), Cilline (d. 726 or 752, July 3). Nine of the names are corroborated by the metrical Martyrology of Oengus, the exceptions being Suibne, Dorbéne and Cilline. The principal omission from the list is Conamail (d. 710), Adomnán's successor in the abbacy. Belonging to a different family from the majority of Columba's successors, Conamail's incumbency was apparently opposed by a faction supporting his successor, Dúnochad (d. 717): Máire Herbert, *Iona Kells and Derry* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 57-8. The other omission, of Fólchú (d. 724), may be illusory only. Several persons named Fólchú are included in the Martyrology of Tallaght. However, none is designated abbot of Iona. Also worthy of note is Fáilbe Bec, designated abbot of Iona at March 10 but omitted hence for lack of clear evidence of his correct place in the list.

the two abbots named Cillíne, who served in immediate succession, was intended is unclear: the first died in 726; his homonymous successor lived until 752.⁶⁷ Thereafter the abbots of Iona are passed over silently by the Tallaght martyrologist. If, as must now seem very likely, therefore, the exemplar of the Tallaght text spent some time on Iona, it must have left the island before 767 at the latest, when Sléibíne, successor of the second abbot named Cillíne (Sléibíne's obit is not in the martyrology) died.⁶⁸ We can be fairly certain, however, that it was still there until after 729 when Egberht, a Northumbrian exile in Ireland, died on the island. Included in the martyrology at April 24, Egberht had succeeded, thirteen years previously according to Bede, in persuading the Columban community to adopt the Roman method of calculating the date of Easter.⁶⁹

The assumption, then, that the exemplar used at Tallaght in 826 x 833 had spent some time on the island of Iona appears to be warranted by the composition of the contingent of saints from that island included in the text.⁷⁰ Furthermore, as I have already suggested, this assumption explains, more satisfactorily than any other, the presence in the martyrology of a substantial number of Anglo-Saxon saints, connected almost without exception with Lindisfarne. What this assumption does not explain, however, are the many indications in the text of the martyrology of an editor at work whose prejudices are most unlikely to have been formed in an Irish setting.

Beside being a breviate version of the Hieronymian Martyrology, the Tallaght text very often diverges considerably from its ultimate source in respect of the arrangement of entries. Not only are names, otherwise unknown in the Hieronymian tradition, added in at the end (as Grosjean and Hennig showed independently), but entries obviously held by the editor to be

⁶⁷*The Life of St. Columba*, ed. William Reeves (Dublin, 1857), p. 382, followed the Martyrology of Gorman in identifying Cillíne of July 3 as the second abbot of the name, but this is quite uncertain.

⁶⁸For a possible date of transfer of the martyrology of about 740, see below, n. 110.

⁶⁹Bede, *Historia* III. 4 and V. 22.

⁷⁰Allowance must be made, of course, for the possibility that a copy only of the putative 'Martyrology of Iona' had left the island.

‘more important’ are also regularly plucked from the body of the text and given precedence.⁷¹ In the process, tampering with names can also be detected, saints sometimes ending up with completely new identities.

Nowhere, in my opinion, does an editor of a martyrology show his bias more than in the arrangement of the names of his text. An ultimate Iona provenance for the exemplar used at Tallaght should be clearly visible, therefore, in the alterations made to the original arrangement of the Hieronymian Martyrology. Especially those entries given pride of place in the lists should reflect Irish preference. There is no discernible Irish bias, however; traces there are of bias, and they are plentiful, but they point unquestionably in the direction of Northumbria.⁷² What follows is a selection of such traces.

To begin with, a preoccupation with how ‘the English race had received the faith of Christ’ is evidenced by the inclusion of several ‘servants of Christ’ sent by Pope Gregory to southern England.⁷³ Regrettably, due to a lacuna in the manuscript, the Hieronymian lists for the end of the month of May are now missing from the Tallaght text.⁷⁴ A reliable idea of their arrangement may be formed, however, from the contemporary Martyrology of Oengus — a product of the same church — which almost invariably drew its one or two saints for each day from the names given precedence in the Martyrology of Tallaght.⁷⁵ At May 24, instead of at the more

⁷¹Grosjean, ‘La prétendue origine irlandaise’, p. 359n.; Hennig, ‘Studies in the Latin Texts’, pp. 81-8. Grosjean noted: ‘Remarquons bien ... la tendance de l’abrégé de Tallaght ... à placer soit en tête, soit immédiatement après la fête principale du jour, le ou les saints que le copiste tient pour plus importants, dans la liste hiéronymienne’.

⁷²Previous scholars, including Grosjean and Hennig, have of course worked under the *assumption* that entries relating to non-Irish feasts, either peculiar to, or given unwonted prominence in, the Martyrology of Tallaght, reflect Irish devotion. In the light of the evidence presented in the present article, *a priori* this assumption is no longer valid.

⁷³The quotations are from the opening passages of Bede, *Historia* I. 25 and 27.

⁷⁴See above, n. 14.

⁷⁵*Féilire Oengusso Céili Dé. The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, ed. and transl. Whitley Stokes, Henry Bradshaw Society 29 (London, 1905). Cf. Hennig, ‘Studies in the Latin Text’, pp. 65-80. It was inaccurate of Hennig to claim (p. 68) that the ‘selection of names made by FO [= the Martyrology of Oengus] from its source is dictated far less by material importance than by metrical reasons’. Of the 62 feasts commemorated January 1-29, no fewer than 37 are taken from the first three entries, mostly of the Hieronymian lists, sometimes of the Irish lists, in the Martyrology of Tallaght. Of these, 19 correspond to the initial entries of the source, 14 to the second, and four to the third. Of the remaining feasts, two correspond to the concluding entries in the source; two more are distinguished in the source by the use of an introductory *dormitatio*, and a further two may have led off a now deficient list in the source. This leaves a total of only nine feasts selected, apparently, for reasons unconnected with the arrangement of the source.

usual May 26, Oengus celebrated ‘Augustine the bishop’.⁷⁶ We may be all but certain, therefore, that the first archbishop of Canterbury also figured prominently in the corresponding list now lost from the Martyrology of Tallaght.⁷⁷

Similarly missing from the Tallaght text are the Hieronymian lists for the whole of November. Again by reference to Oengus, however, who listed Bishop Augustine with forty companions at November 16, we may infer that space had been provided a second time for the archbishop of Canterbury in the Tallaght source.⁷⁸ What is more, collation with the text of the Hieronymian Martyrology, which commemorates a saint Augustine of Capua on this day, suggests that the list may have been tampered with in order to accommodate the founder of Canterbury.⁷⁹ Nowhere in the record of Augustine of Capua does there appear to be an allusion to ‘forty companions’, the number elsewhere cited by Bede in connexion with the arrival in Kent of the future archbishop of Canterbury.⁸⁰ If tampering did occur in this way, then it goes without saying that only an English editor would have gone to such length in Augustine’s case.

One of at least four early luminaries of the English Church to have been included in the Tallaght text — Mellitus and Honorius

⁷⁶*The Martyrology of Oengus*, ed. and transl. Stokes, p. 126, *Augustin in t-epscoip*, ‘Augustine the bishop’.

⁷⁷Augustine is accompanied by an otherwise unknown Hermes together with two feasts corresponding to the first and third entries of the Irish section in the Martyrology of Tallaght. As usual, therefore, Oengus was here taking his feasts from those given precedence in the source.

⁷⁸*The Martyrology of Oengus*, ed. and transl. Stokes, p. 235, *cliar Augustin epscoip, dech no chartais tredan, tróethsus mór ngúr ngalar, cethorchae cain credal*, ‘The train of Augustine the bishop, who used to love best a three days’ fast: great sore grief overwhelmed them, forty beautiful pious ones’. Citing Bede in support, the scholiast to the martyrology (*ibid.* p. 242) identified Augustine with the bishop of Canterbury; cf. Hennig, ‘Studies in the Latin Texts’, p. 79.

⁷⁹Delehaye and Quentin, *Commentarius perpetuus*, p. 601: *In Capua Agustini et Felicitatis*. This is the initial entry in the Martyrology of Echternach.

⁸⁰Bede, *Historia* I. 25. Cf. n. 78, above.

of Canterbury and Paulinus of York being the others — Augustine, despite his preeminence, was never accorded the title of ‘apostle of the English’ in early sources.⁸¹ This distinction was reserved for the prelate who sent the missionaries ‘to preach the word of God to the English race’ — Pope Gregory the Great.⁸² Quoting from St Paul’s first epistle to the Corinthians, Bede enunciated very forcibly the preeminence of Gregory’s place in the history of the English Church: ‘If he is not an apostle to others, yet at least he is to us, for we are the seal of his apostleship in the Lord’.⁸³

Another index of early English affection for Gregory is the honour paid locally to his memory. Hild, founder of Whitby, had ‘received the faith’ from Paulinus of York, one of the missionaries sent to England by Gregory.⁸⁴ As Peter Hunter Blair suggested, this may explain why Hild’s community in particular was so devoted to Gregory.⁸⁵ In any case, early altars commemorated him not only at Whitby but also at York and Canterbury. At Whitby too he was made the subject of his earliest extant biography.⁸⁶ Observance of Gregory’s *natalis* or anniversary is also attested at a very early date. Already included by Bede in his martyrology, Gregory’s *dies natalitius* was made the subject of a canon promulgated at the Synod of *Clofesho* in 747, ordaining that it be celebrated in all churches and monasteries.⁸⁷

The treatment of Gregory’s feast in the Martyrology of Tallaght likewise underlines the preeminence of this Pope.

⁸¹*The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. 36 (April 24), *Militi (bis)*; p. 75 (September 30), *Honorii episcopi*; p. 78 (October 10), *Pauli*. See also pp. 150, 169, and 171. No special prominence is given to these names in the lists. Both Pauli[nus] and Honorius are, however, in penultimate position, which may indicate that they had been added to the original Hieronymian text. None of the names is included in the ‘full’ Hieronymian text. Mellitus and Paulinus are otherwise included, however, in breviate versions (Delehaye and Quentin, *Commentarius perpetuus*, pp. 206 and 549). On commemoration of Augustine, see P.M. Korhammer, ‘The Origin of the Bosworth Psalter’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 2 (1973), 173-87, at 177-8.

⁸²Bede, *Historia* I. 23. See also Plummer, *Baedae Opera* II, 67-78; Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, pp. 177-9.

⁸³Bede, *Historia* II. 1.

⁸⁴*Ibid.* I. 29 and IV. 23.

⁸⁵P. Hunter Blair, *Northumbria in the Days of Bede* (London, 1977), p. 122.

⁸⁶Bede, *Historia* II. 3, II. 20; *Baedae Opera*, ed. Plummer, II, 391. The word used by Bede for the structure at York is *porticus*, which denotes the (side) chapel containing the altar.

⁸⁷Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques*, p. 50; *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1871) III, 368.

Himself one of the earliest witnesses to the existence of the Hieronymian Martyrology, Gregory subsequently became an addition to its list for March 12, the day of his death.⁸⁸ For the editor of the Hieronymian text underlying the Martyrology of Tallaght, this was plainly not conspicuous enough. Placing Gregory's name at the head of the list for March 12, he appended to it a reference to an otherwise unrecorded apparition of St Peter to the Pope.⁸⁹ Nor did his interest in Gregory end there. Between March 12 and the end of the month, he returned to the name Gregory in no fewer than six other entries, all of which, with one exception, refer to this Pope.⁹⁰ They are completely absent from the main text of the Hieronymian Martyrology; one only of these additional entries on the Pope is elsewhere attested. The reference to 'Gregory's ordination' at March 29 is shared among other sources by the Calendar of Willibrord, whose editor could find no 'satisfactory explanation for it'.⁹¹ Whatever the explanation may be, its presence in the Martyrology of Tallaght, together with the cluster of other entries on Pope Gregory, again bespeaks an interest which an English writer is most likely to have evinced.⁹²

While Gregory's key role in the evangelisation of England would have ensured a very special position for him in local

⁸⁸Delehaye and Quentin, *Commentarius perpetuus*, p. 138.

⁸⁹*The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. 22, *Grigorii papae Romae. Ostensio Petri Grigorio recusanti principatum*. Itself well documented, Gregory's reluctance to assume the papacy is nowhere else said to have been attended by an apparition of Saint Peter. For a discussion of the entry, see J. Hennig, 'Ireland's Contribution to the Martyrological Tradition of the Popes', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 10 (1972), 9-23, at 21; *idem*, 'Studies in the Latin Texts', 71-2.

⁹⁰The days are as follows: March 19 (*Grigorii ordinatio*), March 20 (*Grigorii*), March 21 (*Grigorii*), March 28 (*Grigorii*), March 29 (*ordinatio Grigorii. Grigorii Nazareni in Armenia*). The certain exception is Gregory of Nazianzus, who appears to be confused with his contemporary, Gregory of Nyssa, at March 29. Another possible exception is the consecration of Gregory at March 19, which is also recorded, simply as *sancti Grigori*, in the Martyrology of Echternach (Delehaye and Quentin, *Commentarius perpetuus*, p. 152). This may refer to Pope Gregory III (d. 741), who was consecrated on the previous day in 731. Grosjean, 'La prétendue origine irlandaise', p. 359n., stated, however, that it can hardly be other than 'l'anniversaire (vrai, prétendu ou imaginé)' of the consecration as bishop of Gregory the Great. In *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. 142, the editors plausibly suggested that Gregory may have been included at March 21 'because he wrote the Life of St. Benedict', the most celebrated of the other saints in the list.

⁹¹*The Calendar of St. Willibrord*, ed. Wilson, p. 5; for the text, *ordinatio Grigori papae*, see p. 26. The consecration of Gregory the Great is usually placed at September 3.

⁹²As if to clinch the matter, the martyrologist consistently mis-spelled the name, preferring the form *Grigorius*, which is also found, for instance, in the Calendar and Martyrology of Willibrord.

martyrologies, the pride of place accorded to other saints of the universal Church, although plainly inspired by English or specifically Northumbrian preference, cannot be so easily explained. What prompted, for instance, the mid-eighth-century author of the metrical Martyrology of York to single out George for special mention at April 24?⁹³ ‘Saint George of Merry England’ lay several centuries ahead.⁹⁴ Yet he was also made the subject of an entry in the second family of manuscript witnesses to Bede’s martyrology.⁹⁵ Clearly, this saint had already become the focus of great interest in Northumbria, at the latest by the early eighth century.⁹⁶ Given this, it can hardly be dismissed as a mere coincidence that, alone among the representatives of the Hieronymian Martyrology, the Martyrology of Tallaght accords him first place in the list for April 24.⁹⁷

If the priority thus accorded to George in the Tallaght text can best be explained by reference to an underlying exemplar compiled by an English or Northumbrian editor, then the same is even more emphatically true of the prominence given to Mary Magdalene. Identified both by Gregory the Great and by Bede as the sinner who anointed Christ’s feet, Mary Magdalene has been made the subject of an important recent study by Victor Saxer, who has traced the origins of the cult in the West back to early eighth-century Northumbria.⁹⁸ The earliest known Western record of the feast occurs in the martyrology composed by Bede,

⁹³‘Un témoin anglo-saxon du calendrier métrique d’York’, ed. Wilmart, p. 66, *atque Georgius hinc euectus ad astra uolauit*. Wilmart (p. 57) placed George at April 23. In fact, however, he is assigned in the text, as in the Martyrology of Tallaght, to the following day (the eighth of the calends of May).

⁹⁴See Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, pp. 166-7.

⁹⁵Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques*, p. 50.

⁹⁶P. Hunter Blair, *Northumbria in the Days of Bede*, p. 105, drew attention to the fact that the church of St Paul at Jarrow was dedicated on 23 April. Given the other evidence of George’s popularity in Northumbria, this coincidence may imply a little more than the ‘accident’ supposed by Hunter Blair.

⁹⁷*The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. 35, *Passio Georgii cum .xxxmddcclxxiv*. The contemporary and derivative metrical Martyrology of Oengus also adds ‘thirty great thousands’ to the notice of George’s feast. The figure seems to be taken from the *explicit* of a *passio* composed for George: *Analecta Bollandiana* 11 (1892), 303 (10^a).

⁹⁸V. Saxer, ‘Les Origines du culte de Sainte Marie Madeleine en Occident’, in *Marie-Madeleine dans le mystique, les arts et les lettres*, ed. Eve Duperray (Avignon, 1988), pp. 33-47. Cf. *idem*, *La Culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du moyen âge* (Auxerre, 1959). I am grateful to Professor Eamonn Ó Carragáin for drawing my attention to the works of Victor Saxer.

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Unfortunately, the Hieronymian section for July 22 is now missing from the Martyrology of Tallaght. By reference to the derivative Martyrology of Oengus, however, which singles out 'the blessed nativity of Mary Magdalene' for mention on that day, we can again be all but certain that her name also headed the list in the Martyrology of Tallaght.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, unknown to Saxer, who ignored the Irish evidence, Mary Magdalene was also given pride of place in the Tallaght text at March 28, where her prominence is likewise corroborated by the Martyrology of Oengus.¹⁰² What is more, the extra feast provided for Mary Magdalene at March 28 was at the expense of Mary of Egypt, whose name was simply adapted to suit the editor's obvious preference.¹⁰³ Here, as in the case of St Augustine, it is improbable that any Insular editor other than an Anglo-Saxon would have tampered with his exemplar in this way.

Saxer's view that it was Bede 'who first inscribed' in a Western martyrology at July 22 the feast of Mary Magdalene would now appear to be in need of modification.¹⁰⁴ In the light of the

⁹⁸V. Saxer, 'Les Origines du culte de Sainte Marie Madeleine en Occident', in *Marie-Madeleine dans le mystique, les arts et les lettres*, ed. Eve Duperray (Avignon, 1988), pp. 33-47. Cf. *idem*, *La Culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du moyen âge* (Auxerre, 1959). I am grateful to Professor Eamonn Ó Carragáin for drawing my attention to the works of Victor Saxer.

⁹⁹Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques*, p. 53: *natale sanctae Mariae Magdalенаe*.

¹⁰⁰Saxer, 'Les Origines du culte', p. 35; Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques*, p. 53n.

¹⁰¹*The Martyrology of Oengus*, ed. and transl. Stokes, p. 164: *findgein Magdaléna Maire, mind cech dínaid*, 'The blessed nativity of Mary Magdalene, the diadem of every host'.

¹⁰²*The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. 27, *Mariae Magdalенаe; The Martyrology of Oengus*, ed. and transl. Stokes, p. 84, *Don-rogra, ron-sóera sech phiana, ron-séna, Maria ron-móra, in mór Magdaléna*, 'May she call us, may she save us from pains, may she sain us, may Mary magnify us, the great Magdalena'.

¹⁰³Delehaye and Quentin, *Commentarius perpetuus*, p. 166. Mary of Egypt's feast is entered for this day in the Martyrology of Echternach as well as in two breviate versions of the Hieronymian Martyrology.

¹⁰⁴Saxer, 'Les Origines du culte', p. 34.

evidence presented here, we can say that Bede may not have drawn directly on a Greek source for the feast which he placed at July 22. On the contrary, here, as possibly also elsewhere in his martyrology, he appears to have been guided by a Northumbrian edition of the Hieronymian Martyrology more or less identical with the text now preserved in the Martyrology of Tallaght.¹⁰⁵

Let me conclude, therefore, by piecing together in outline what appears to have been the history of the Hieronymian Martyrology in Britain and Ireland in so far as it was antecedent to the extant form of the Martyrology of Tallaght.

Following its arrival in Northumbria in the late seventh century, possibly through the good offices of John the Arch-Chanter, a copy of the Hieronymian Martyrology began to circulate locally. One full copy may have survived in the form of the early eighth-century Martyrology of Echternach, now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Latin 10837.¹⁰⁶

Besides being copied in full, however, the Hieronymian Martyrology was brought out in at least one breviated Northumbrian edition, which also began to circulate. A copy may have been used by Bede in the composition of his martyrology some time before 731, and another may have served as source for the author of the metrical Martyrology of York about 750. A systematic examination of both texts, is, however, required before the full extent of their dependence on a breviated edition of the Hieronymian Martyrology can be established.

A third copy of the Northumbrian breviated martyrology may have been made at or for the church of Lindisfarne. Already included in this copy would have been such local feasts as those of the two martyred kings, Oswald and Oswine, and of the two martyred clerics named Hewald.¹⁰⁷ This would date the Lindisfarne copy to about 700. At this time, as has been suggested on other evidence, Lindisfarne might have had a

¹⁰⁵A systematic comparison of Bede's text with the text of the Martyrology of Tallaght should yield many other examples. For some others, see above, n. 8.

¹⁰⁶E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, V (Oxford, 1950), p. 25. Copied at Echternach, it would seem, by the scribe Laurentius, the text reveals Northumbrian traits (see above, n. 10).

¹⁰⁷The feast of the Hewalds, for instance, is also included in Bede's Martyrology and in the metrical Martyrology of York.

particularly active scriptorium.¹⁰⁸ Some time later, after other local names might have been added, the Lindisfarne copy appears to have reached Iona. The need for a copy of the Hieronymian Martyrology would perhaps have arisen on Iona for the first time after the adoption there of the Roman Easter. This would date its arrival to about 716. Here many other names, relating both to Iona and probably to Lindisfarne, were inserted before a copy of the martyrology left the island for the Irish mainland at a time yet to be ascertained in the eighth century. On the available evidence, however, the Iona Martyrology would appear to have already left the island before about 760. A date of about 740 has been suggested for the transfer to Ireland of the Iona Chronicle.¹⁰⁹ And as Máire Herbert has suggested, a document containing 'names and dates of commemoration of successive Iona abbots' may have been transmitted from the island about the same time.¹¹⁰

Internal evidence may yet indicate where the martyrology was first kept in Ireland.¹¹¹ Eventually, however, the need for a text of this kind also arose at the recently founded church of Tallaght.¹¹² And here the text originally Northumbrian but now already replete with additions made at Lindisfarne, at Iona, and no doubt elsewhere, was given more or less its surviving form by the addition of a substantial corpus of entries relating to the churches involved in the so-called anchoritic reform.¹¹³

There is much about this provisional stemma which is debatable. One could speculate, for instance, that Lindisfarne's role in the formation of the martyrology may have been played

¹⁰⁸T.J. Brown, 'The Lindisfarne Scriptorium', in *Codex Lindisfarnensis*, ed. T.D. Kendrick *et al.*, II (Lausanne, 1960), 89-106; Netzer, 'Willibrord's Scriptorium at Echternach'.

¹⁰⁹See J. Bannerman, 'Notes on the Scottish Entries in the Early Irish Annals', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 11 (1968), 149-70, at 151-2 and 168. On p. 170 he has posed an interesting question: 'Were some or all of the contents of the Iona scriptorium taken to Ireland for safety about this time?'

¹¹⁰Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*, p. 62.

¹¹¹The so-called 'Ulster Chronicle', which used the 'Iona Chronicle' as source (see n. 109), was supposed by Thomas F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin, 1946), pp. 235-59, to have been compiled at Bangor (Co. Down). The likelihood must also be that the 'Iona Martyrology' postulated here likewise spent some time in a north-east Ulster monastery.

¹¹²For a general account of the revival spearheaded by Tallaght, see Peter O'Dwyer, *Céli Dé: Spiritual Reform in Ireland* (Dublin, 1981).

¹¹³For several examples of additions made at Tallaght between 828 and 833, see Ó Riain, 'The Tallaght Martyrologies'.

by one of the Irish mainland churches with a strong Northumbrian connexion. In that case, before reaching Iona, the breviary edition of the Hieronymian Martyrology would have passed from Northumbria itself — or, in accommodation of Grosjean's view, possibly even from the Continent — directly to Ireland.¹¹⁴ In that case also, Egberht of Rathmelsigi, who moved from Ireland to Iona thirteen years before his death in 729, would represent a likely intermediary.

But all that is beside the main point of this lecture, which remains unaffected. The Northumbrian provenance of its Hieronymian exemplar is, to adapt a memorable phrase used in another context by Nora K. Chadwick, 'written heavily across the names' of the Martyrology of Tallaght.¹¹⁵ Indeed, seldom can a provenance have been endorsed, albeit posthumously, by so many people.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴For Grosjean's view, see above, n. 15.

¹¹⁵Nora K. Chadwick, *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church* (London, 1961), p. 92; she was speaking of the manner in which the place-names of our maps evoke the austere discipline of the Irish Church.

¹¹⁶This is a revised text of the Lecture delivered at the invitation of the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, on March 12, 1992 — coincidentally, the feast of Gregory the Great and of Gerald of Mayo of the English. I am grateful to Professor Michael Lapidge for honouring me with the invitation to deliver the third H.M. Chadwick Memorial Lecture. I am also very grateful to Dr David N. Dumville, who chaired the lecture, for his kindness and hospitality towards me while I was in Cambridge. Finally, I am indebted to several colleagues and friends for assistance in the preparation of the lecture, namely William O'Sullivan, Éamonn Ó Carragáin, Elizabeth Okasha, Richard Sharpe, Máire Herbert, and Anthony Harvey.

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